

# A Search for the Socialist Legacy

The Influence of Socialist Experience on Attitudes  
toward Income Inequalities

Zsófia Ignácz | 3rd LSCR Conference, Moscow  
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# Recap of Project

## Scope of Paper

Post-socialist countries (PSC) => catching up to West?

## Motivation and Gap

“Socialist legacy” is the main suspect for differences – inconclusive evidence and unsophisticated methodology

## Theoretical Considerations

Culturalist approach: socialization as underlying factor  
Formative years VS life long learning model

# Recap of Project

## Hypotheses

H1. Individuals from PSC who spent their formative years outside a socialist regime are more likely to be closer to their Western counterparts in their attitudes toward inequalities, than those who did not.

H2. The less time individuals from PSC spent time socialized in a socialist regime the more likely will they be like their Western counterparts.

## Methodological Considerations

Reconceptualized age-period-cohort analysis

Cohorts -> experience with socialism (formative vs. experience "rate")

# Data

## International Social Survey Program

- International research project, national representative
- 4 Modules on Attitudes toward Income Inequality
- Years: 1987, 1992, 1999, 2009

<b>Western</b>	<b>Post-socialist</b>
Austria	Hungary
Germany-West	Poland
Norway	Germany-East
Great Britain	Bulgaria
	Czech Republic

# Variables

## Dependent Variable(s)

- Basis of measurement: “personal Gini”  
(*“Please write in how much xxx actually/should earn each year, before tax”*)
- Justice Evaluation of Gini (comparison of preferred+percieved Gini)  
(*Larger value – thinks inequalities are more unfair*)

## Independent Variables

- East/West Comparison  
(*1: From Post-socialist state*)
- Experience with Socialism
  - Formative Years Solely under Socialism  
(*1:Formative Years in Socialism*)
  - Ratio of Life Spent under Socialism  
(*100%: All of life spent under socialism*)

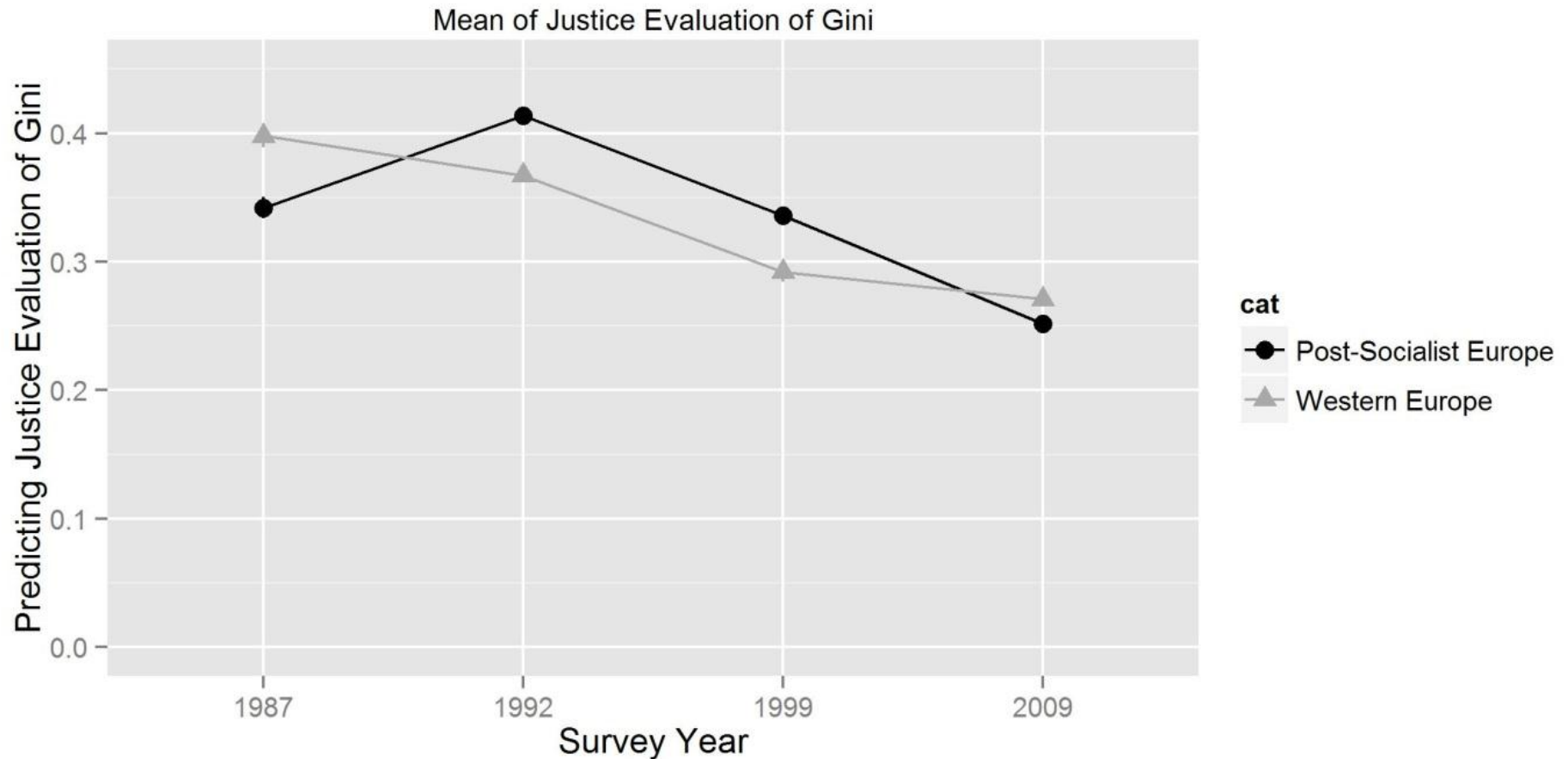
## APC Related Controll Variables

- Age, Year of Survey (1987 (ref.), 1992, 1999, 2009)

## Other Controll Variables

- Gender (1: male), Education, Employment (1: employed), Hhold Income (deciles)

# Descriptives



# Results (Justice Evaluation)

## OLS Regression Analysis: Independent Variables

East/West: positively associated

Socialization: positively associated

East/West+Socialization: loses significance -> clue for interaction

## OLS Regression Analysis: Control Variables

Positive (and significant) association

gender, education, employment status, age

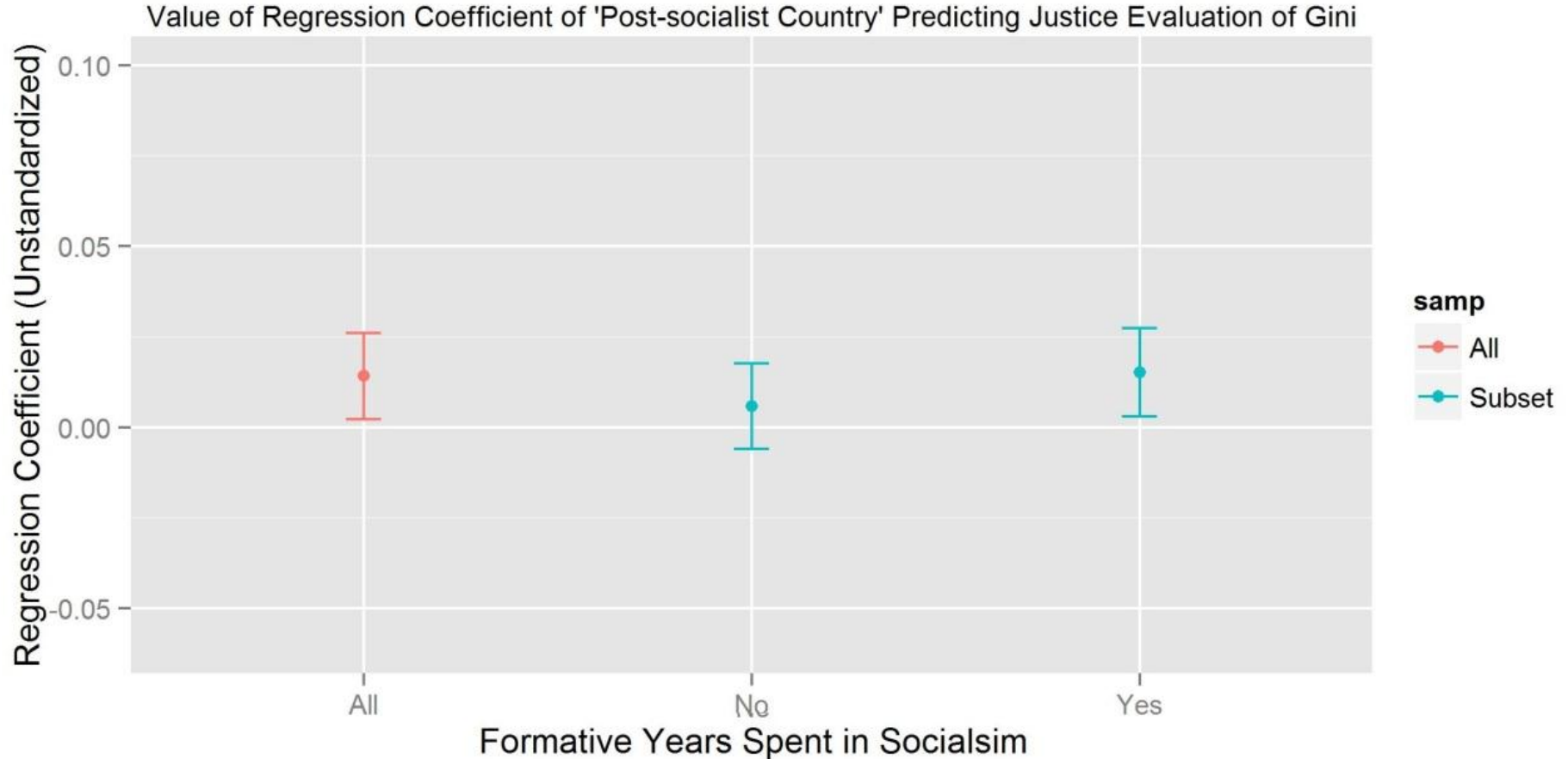
Wave 2 (1992)

Negative (and significant) association

household income

Wave 3 (1999), Wave 4 (2009)

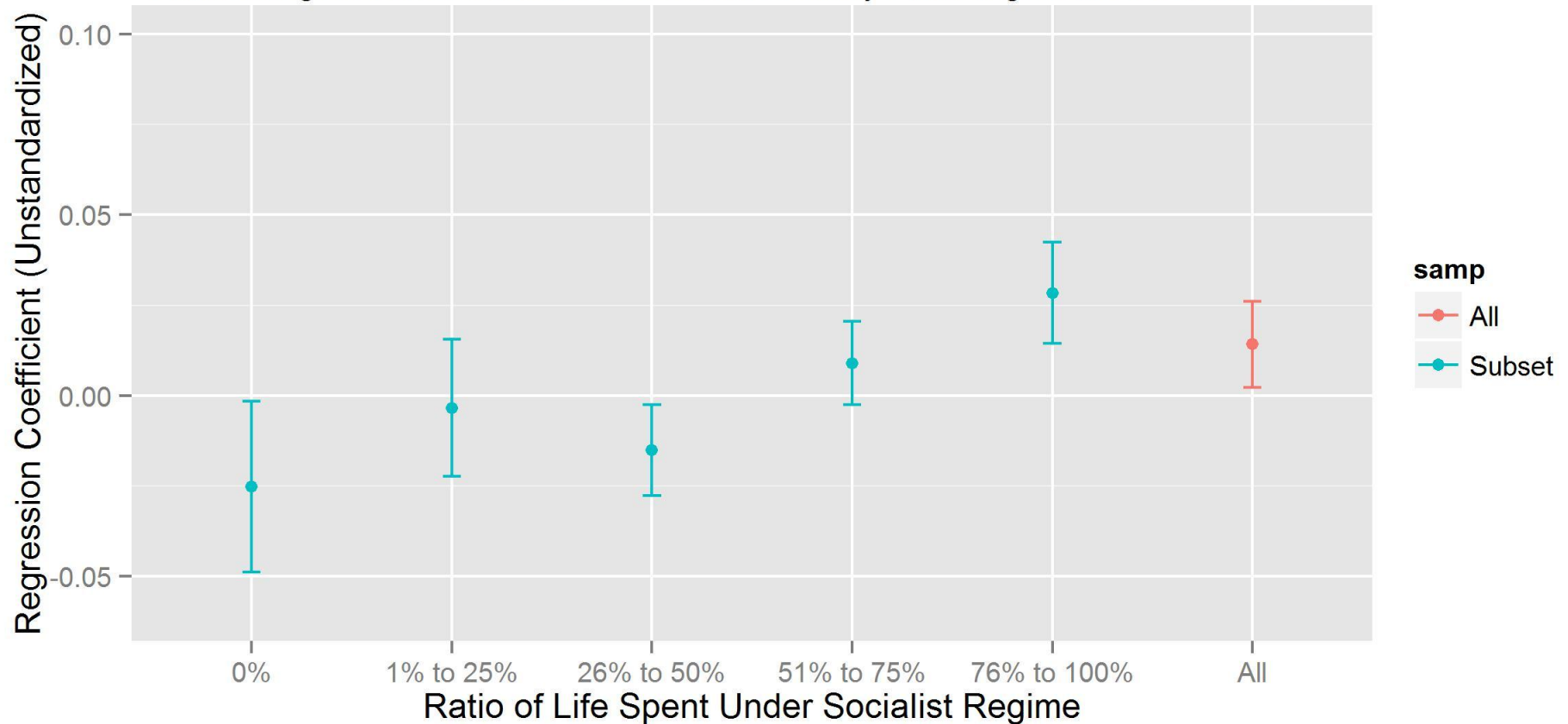
# Results (Justice Evaluation)



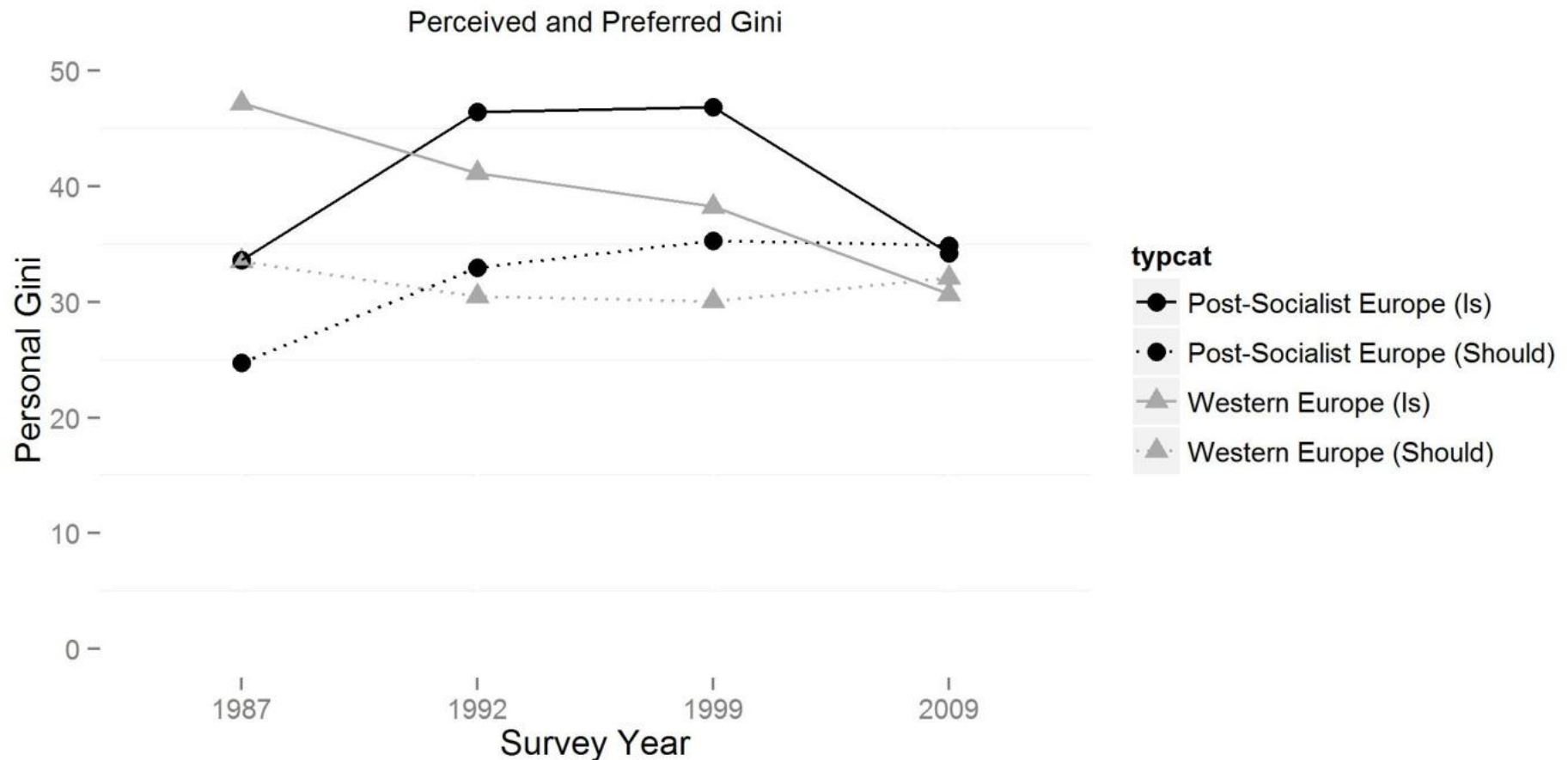


# Results (Justice Evaluation)

Value of Regression Coefficient of 'Post-socialist Country' Predicting Justice Evaluation of Gini

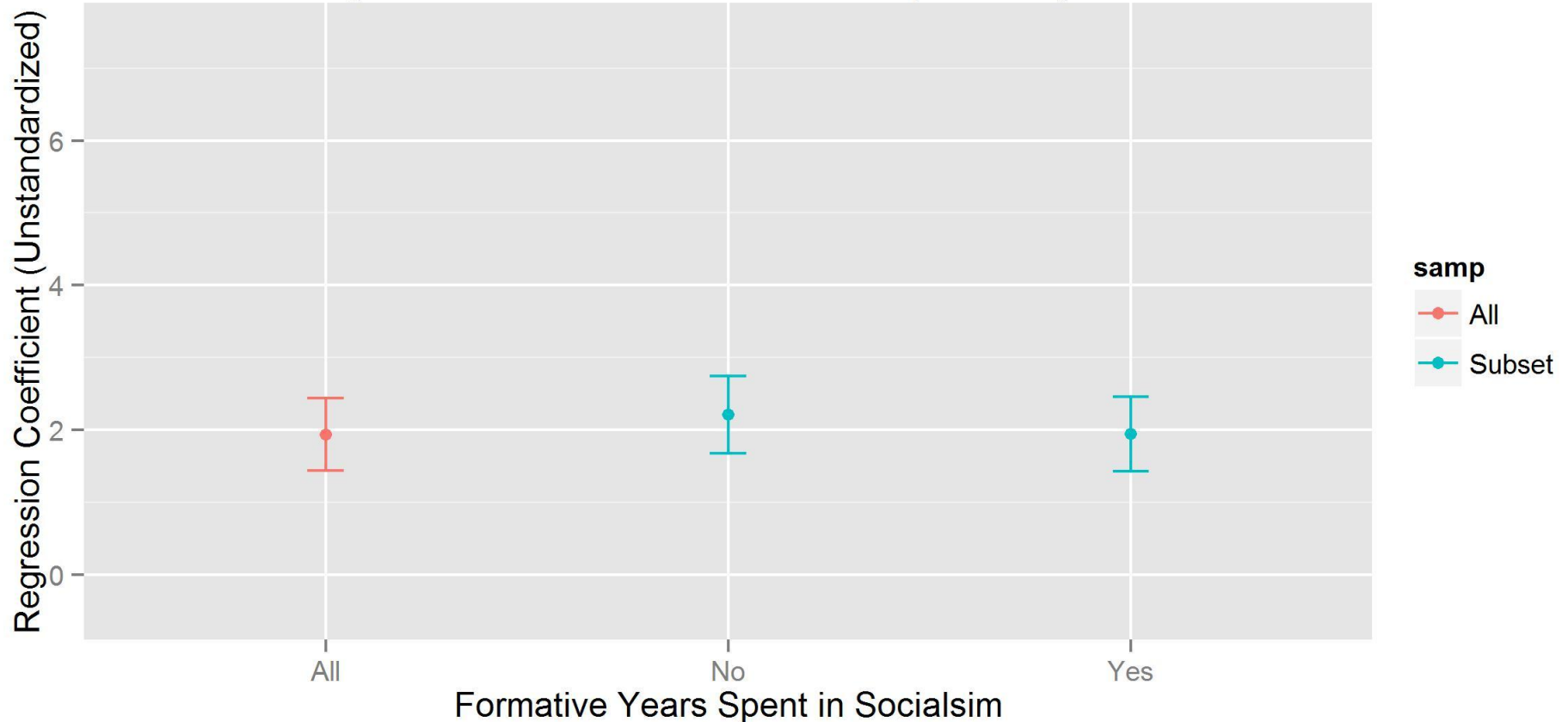


# Descriptives



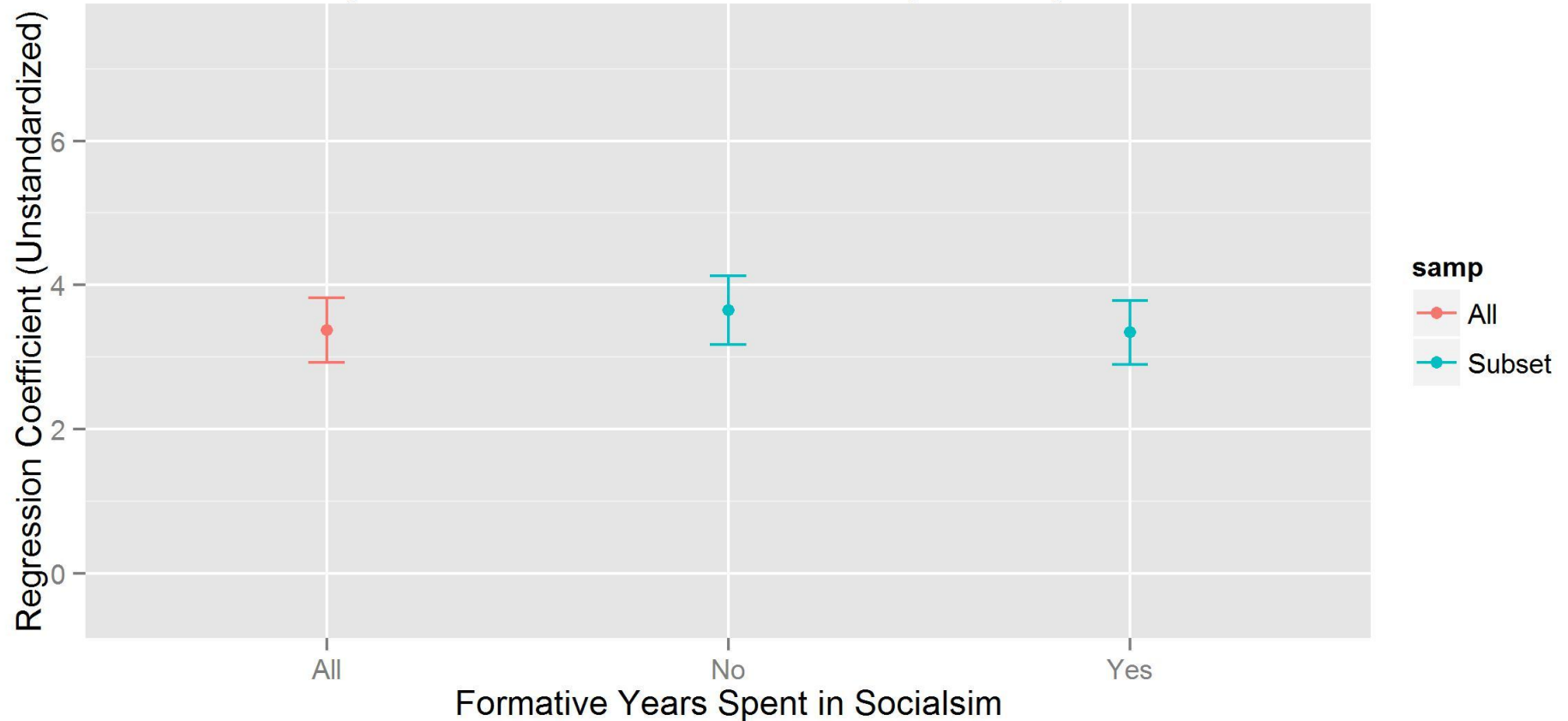
# Results (Preferred)

Value of Regression Coefficient of 'Post-socialist Country' Predicting Preferred Gini



# Results (Perceived)

Value of Regression Coefficient of 'Post-socialist Country' Predicting Perceived Gini



# Results (Preferred)

Value of Regression Coefficient of 'Post-socialist Country' Predicting Preferred Gini



# Results (Perceived)

Value of Regression Coefficient of 'Post-socialist Country' Predicting Perceived Gini



# Summary of Analysis

## Results

- Formative years: shows slight differences
- Ratio of Experience: significant differences can be shown for 50% or less experience
- Robust results for sub-sample (exclusion of individuals born before 1945, exclusion of year 1987)
- 1-25% “Outliers”: significantly higher education levels

# Discussion

## Lessons Learned

- Convergence of post-socialist countries
  - Generational shift taking place in post-socialist countries
    - »Both for perceptions and preferences

## Limitations

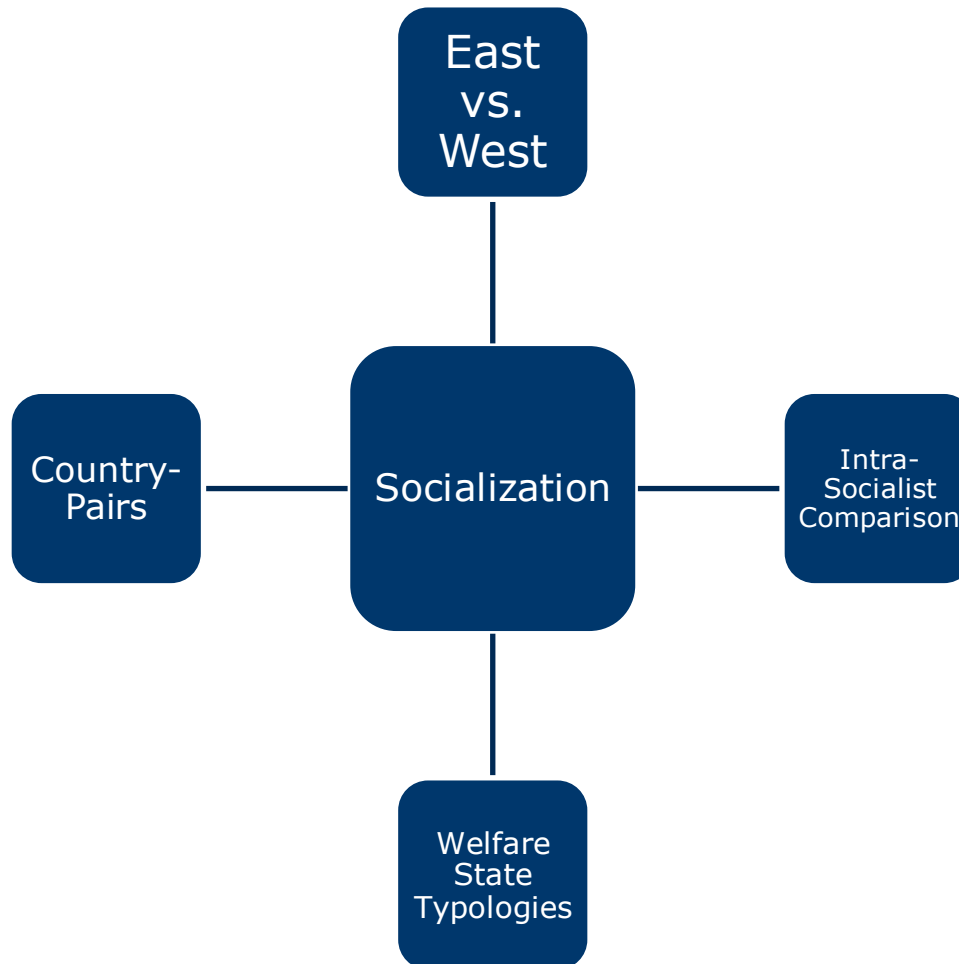
- Limited number of countries – even they can be diverse
- Replication in future challenging as the society is getting older

## Open Questions

Values or learning process the true mechanism?



# At Crossroads





**EUROPEAN PH.D.**  
IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND  
STATISTICAL STUDIES  
CO-ORDINATED BY HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN



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SOCIAL SCIENCES



# Thank you for your attention!

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## OLS (Justice Evaluation of Gini)

	All	Non-socialist Formative Years	Socialist Formative Years
(Intercept)	0.50 <sup>***</sup>	0.49 <sup>***</sup>	0.49 <sup>***</sup>
sex	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.02 <sup>***</sup>
edysr	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00	0.00 <sup>***</sup>
employ	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.01	0.02 <sup>**</sup>
inc	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>
age	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>
issp92	0.02 <sup>**</sup>	-0.03 <sup>**</sup>	0.02 <sup>**</sup>
issp99	-0.04 <sup>***</sup>	-0.09 <sup>***</sup>	-0.04 <sup>***</sup>
issp09	-0.09 <sup>***</sup>	-0.13 <sup>***</sup>	-0.09 <sup>***</sup>
east	0.01 <sup>**</sup>	0.01	0.02 <sup>***</sup>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.05	0.05
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.05	0.05
Num. obs.	20082	11605	17901

\*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05

## OLS (Justice Evaluation of Gini)

	All		Ratio of Life Spent Under Socialism			
			0%	1%-25%	26%-50%	51%-75%
(Intercept)	0.50 <sup>***</sup>	0.47 <sup>***</sup>	0.47 <sup>***</sup>	0.47 <sup>***</sup>	0.52 <sup>***</sup>	0.47 <sup>***</sup>
sex	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.03 <sup>***</sup>	0.03 <sup>***</sup>	0.03 <sup>***</sup>	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.02 <sup>***</sup>
edysrs	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>**</sup>	0.00 <sup>**</sup>	0.00 <sup>**</sup>	0.00	0.00 <sup>*</sup>
employ	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02 <sup>***</sup>
inc	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>***</sup>
age	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>
issp92	0.02 <sup>**</sup>	-0.03 <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 <sup>***</sup>	-0.03 <sup>**</sup>	0.02 <sup>**</sup>
issp99	-0.04 <sup>***</sup>	-0.10 <sup>***</sup>	-0.10 <sup>***</sup>	-0.10 <sup>***</sup>	-0.08 <sup>***</sup>	-0.04 <sup>***</sup>
issp09	-0.09 <sup>***</sup>	-0.13 <sup>***</sup>	-0.13 <sup>***</sup>	-0.13 <sup>***</sup>	-0.13 <sup>***</sup>	-0.07 <sup>***</sup>
east	0.01 <sup>**</sup>	-0.01	0.01	-0.03 <sup>*</sup>	0.01 <sup>*</sup>	0.03 <sup>***</sup>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Num. obs.	20082	9488	9605	10190	14032	14463

\*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05

## OLS (Preferred Gini)

	All	Non-socialist Formative Years	Socialist Formative Years
(Intercept)	23.43 <sup>***</sup>	30.17 <sup>***</sup>	23.47 <sup>***</sup>
sex	-2.35 <sup>***</sup>	-2.69 <sup>***</sup>	-2.39 <sup>***</sup>
edysr	0.11 <sup>***</sup>	-0.16 <sup>***</sup>	0.05 <sup>***</sup>
employ	-1.46 <sup>***</sup>	-1.98 <sup>***</sup>	-1.46 <sup>***</sup>
inc	0.61 <sup>***</sup>	0.73 <sup>***</sup>	0.60 <sup>***</sup>
age	0.13 <sup>***</sup>	0.13 <sup>***</sup>	0.16 <sup>***</sup>
issp92	1.45 <sup>***</sup>	-3.03 <sup>***</sup>	1.22 <sup>***</sup>
issp99	2.32 <sup>***</sup>	-3.12 <sup>***</sup>	1.72 <sup>***</sup>
issp09	2.48 <sup>***</sup>	-1.05 <sup>*</sup>	1.79 <sup>***</sup>
east	1.92 <sup>***</sup>	2.03 <sup>***</sup>	1.97 <sup>***</sup>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.07	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.07	0.06
Num. obs.	20082	11605	17901

\*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05

## OLS (Preferred Gini)

	All	Ratio of Life Spent Under Socialism				
		0%	1%-25%	26%-50%	51%-75%	76%-100%
(Intercept)	23.43 <sup>***</sup>	31.37 <sup>***</sup>	31.21 <sup>***</sup>	31.13 <sup>***</sup>	28.22 <sup>***</sup>	24.56 <sup>***</sup>
sex	-2.35 <sup>***</sup>	-2.79 <sup>***</sup>	-2.80 <sup>***</sup>	-2.84 <sup>***</sup>	-2.40 <sup>***</sup>	-2.54 <sup>***</sup>
edyrs	0.11 <sup>***</sup>	-0.35 <sup>***</sup>	-0.33 <sup>***</sup>	-0.29 <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 <sup>***</sup>	-0.07 <sup>***</sup>
employ	-1.46 <sup>***</sup>	-1.94 <sup>***</sup>	-1.87 <sup>***</sup>	-1.92 <sup>***</sup>	-1.53 <sup>***</sup>	-1.69 <sup>***</sup>
inc	0.61 <sup>***</sup>	0.74 <sup>***</sup>	0.72 <sup>***</sup>	0.73 <sup>***</sup>	0.69 <sup>***</sup>	0.63 <sup>***</sup>
age	0.13 <sup>***</sup>	0.18 <sup>***</sup>	0.18 <sup>***</sup>	0.17 <sup>***</sup>	0.13 <sup>***</sup>	0.17 <sup>***</sup>
issp92	1.45 <sup>***</sup>	-3.47 <sup>***</sup>	-3.47 <sup>***</sup>	-3.51 <sup>***</sup>	-2.99 <sup>***</sup>	1.24 <sup>***</sup>
issp99	2.32 <sup>***</sup>	-4.81 <sup>***</sup>	-4.81 <sup>***</sup>	-4.68 <sup>***</sup>	-2.17 <sup>***</sup>	0.58 <sup>***</sup>
issp09	2.48 <sup>***</sup>	-1.92 <sup>***</sup>	-1.96 <sup>***</sup>	-1.95 <sup>***</sup>	-1.64 <sup>***</sup>	1.43 <sup>***</sup>
east	1.92 <sup>***</sup>	3.28 <sup>*</sup>	5.03 <sup>***</sup>	3.77 <sup>***</sup>	2.70 <sup>***</sup>	1.45 <sup>***</sup>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.07	0.06
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.07	0.06
Num. obs.	20082	9488	9605	10190	14032	14463

\*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05

# Personal Gini

$$Gini = \frac{\sum_j^n \sum_k^n |x_j - x_k|}{2n^2 \mu}$$

Where  $x_j, x_k$  the value given by respondent for the occupation,  $n$  is the number of occupations considered and  $\mu$  is the grand average of all occupations. Corresponding with the meaning of the Gini-coefficient, the higher value a respondent has, the larger inequalities will the individual prefer.



$$Gini_{justiceEvaluation} = \ln \frac{Gini_{perceived}}{Gini_{preferred}}$$



Mean of Justice Evaluation of Gini

